DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 028 222 UD 007 866

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A Study of the Effectiveness of Selected Out-of-School Urban Neighborhood Youth Corps Programs. Program Implications.

George Washington Univ., Washington, D.C. Social Research Group.
Spons Agency-Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
Pub Date Jun 68
Contract-DOL-41-7-004-9
Note-23p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.25
Descriptors-*Disadvantaged Youth, Enrollment Influences, Job Skills, Manpower Development, Negro Youth, *Out of School Youth, *Poverty Programs, *Program Effectiveness, *Program Evaluation, Program Improvement, Remedial Programs, Urban Areas, Work Experience Programs
Identifiers-Neighborhood Youth Corps, NYC

"Research results indicate that the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) has been effective in reaching seriously disadvantaged youth and in improving the community and work adjustments of these youths. At the same time, these achievements appear to fall far short of the full potential of the NYC Programs." Among the problems of program and policy which need solutions are the differential "reach" of NYC (more Negro than white, and more female than male enrollees) and the high unemployment rate of ex-enrollees. The findings imply that attention must be given to the ideal program "mix", remedial education, effective use of work assignments, length of time in NYC, job development, and interagency coordination. For other aspects of this research see UD 007 867, UD 007 868, and ED 020 407. (NH)

ED028222

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A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SELECTED OUT-OF-SCHOOL URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS PROGRAMS

Program Implications

June 1968

UD 007 866

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Contract No. 41-7-004-9
Manpower Administration
U.S. Department of Labor

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SELECTED OUT-OF-SCHOOL URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS PROGRAMS

Program Implications

This report discusses some of the research conclusions, to date, of a continuing longitudinal study of the effectiveness of out-of-school NYC programs in five urban sites, and the implications of these conclusions for program effectiveness. Conducted by the Social Research Group of The George Washington University, these studies reflect for the most part NYC program operations from late 1965 through 1966. The primary criteria of program effectiveness were work and community adjustments.

General Research Conclusions

Research results indicate that the NYC has been effective in reaching seriously disadvantaged youth and in improving the community and work adjustments of these youths. At the same time, these achievements appear to fall far short of the full potential of the NYC programs. The research data indicate these achievements of the NYC program:

1. NYC out-of-school programs are reaching seriously disadvantaged youths. A sizeable percentage of enrollees from each site came from broken homes, from families receiving welfare assistance, and from families whose circumstances implied meager social, emotional, or economic support. Most of the enrollees had dropped out before graduating from high school, many for reasons that suggested severe maladjustment to the school environment.
2. Enrollees who were contacted in the course of the study gave the NYC a good report--indicating a high level of satisfaction with their experience. A majority of them enjoyed their NYC work "very much,"

had found the experience "extremely useful," and considered that it was or would be a help in getting a job. A good report was given the program from both those who had adjusted well and those who had adjusted poorly, i.e., had been terminated or quit the program prematurely.

3. Compared to a group of youths similar to the enrollees except for NYC experience, the enrollees were more frequently employed and self-supporting. Enrollees were also more likely to have participated in remedial and supplemental education, and to have had fewer police contacts. Almost all of the improvements of enrollees in the areas of employment, self-support and lower police contact reflected gains made by female enrollees. The most significant improvement among male enrollees was greater participation in academic and vocational education since leaving school.

The following case studies illustrate the types of assistance given enrollees through their NYC experience:

Case 1 shows how a school dropout was helped by the NYC both to complete high school and to acquire a skill. The enrollee was a Negro female, age 20, who had completed the 11th grade, was married, had two children, whose family received welfare assistance, was out of school 20 months, and had never held a job before enrolling in the NYC. She was enrolled in NYC for three months; and, at the time of report, had a clerical position, having been unemployed only three weeks in the eight months since she left NYC. She reported that her NYC work involved serving as a receptionist, typing, filing, dictation, payroll, and general

office procedure and that she enjoyed it "very much." She felt her NYC experience was "extremely useful" for many reasons, "I think it was quite helpful personally as well as socially. I was attending night school when I enrolled and my co-workers gave me the encouragement to continue and receive my diploma."

Case 2 shows how the program placed a high school graduate into a training program which led to employment in a job with career potential. This enrollee was a Negro male, age 17, who had completed 12th grade, had been out of school nine months, and had never held a job prior to NYC enrollment. He was enrolled in NYC for 11 months and terminated to enter a training program. He wrote that he worked at cutting grass, chopping trees, mopping floors, painting and helping the electrician and that he felt the NYC experience was "somewhat useful" because it had given him electrical training and had helped him to get an electrical trainee job. At the time of report, he was working as an electrician's helper at $1.60 an hour and had not been unemployed since leaving the NYC.

Case 3 shows how the program gave a high school graduate clerical skills and encouraged her to enter college. The enrollee was a Negro female, age 19, who had completed 12th grade, had been out of school for seven months, and had never held a job prior to enrolling in the NYC. She was enrolled in the NYC for ten and one-half months, and at the time of the report, she had a summer job as a secretary at $1.87 an hour and planned to return to Morgan State College as a sophomore in the fall. She wrote: "When I graduated from high school, I didn't know anything about working in an office, and now I am a secretary. All my office experience has come from the NYC program."

Case 4 shows how the program helped a school dropout after several enrollments. The enrollee was a Negro female, age 19, who had completed 9th grade, was unmarried, had two children, had been out of school for 14 months, and had never held a job before enrolling in the NYC. She had had three separate enrollments in the NYC over a 15-month period. She worked as a ward clerk in a hospital and reported that she enjoyed her work "very much." She felt that her NYC experience was "extremely useful" in learning work habits, and job skills, and had helped in getting a job. During the 11 months since leaving the NYC, she had been steadily employed as a dental assistant. She was selected by her employer over other applicants because of her record of attendance and her experience with patients at the hospital She reported that on her present job, she is constantly being taught new methods and techniques.

In general, then, the NYC programs studied were reaching disadvantaged youths with programs that were well-accepted by these youths and which resulted in improved work and community adjustments in the post-NYC period. Despite these achievements, it was apparent from the data that the program, even in cities where it is best organized, is not fulfilling its optimum potential. Our research suggests several problems with respect to program and policy which merit attention.

1. The NYC may tend to be differential in its reach. The programs studied tended to attract Negro youths to a greater extent than white youths, and Negro females more than Negro males. In most study sites, the largest group was Negro female and the smallest was white female. The number of white females, which was too small to allow separate

statistical analysis, may reflect lack of need, i.e., white females may be able to find jobs without assistance. Alternatively, it may be due to recruiting practices or to the image projected by NYC to this group. The few white females who enrolled in the studied programs as compared with Negro female enrollees had dropped out of school at an earlier grade, had been out of school longer, were more pessimistic about their chances of achieving their occupational goals, and were given a lower rating by the interviewer on their appearance, speech and approach. The possibility should be considered, therefore, that the recruitment methods of the NYC programs are inadequate to attract white females. This may be true with respect to white males and to males generally, and ways should be found to effectively involve these youths in the NYC program.

2. The NYC programs may fit the needs of young Negro women better than the needs of young men. Although very few enrollees, male or female, gave low ratings to their enjoyment of NYC work or to the usefulness of NYC experience, male enrollees averaged significantly lower ratings than female enrollees. Since most enrollees hear about the NYC from friends, the significantly lower ratings given the program by male enrollees may result in a cumulative reduction in the involvement of males in the NYC.

Several findings support the conclusion that the NYC "works" better for Negro females: they tended to be better-educated and older than the males, and thus, generally, potentially more employable; they were more apt to get NYC work

assignments that were occupationally relevant to post-NYC employment, and, thus, their NYC experience bore more directly on work adjustment: they were less apt than males to have police records or school records indicating maladjustment to school, and thus, their socialization more often supported adjustment to work training; and, finally, the restricted employment opportunities for these young women and their frequent responsibility for child support increased the value of the NYC both as a source of income and as an opportunity for improved employability.

At the time of the follow-up contact, the unemployment rate for enrollees after leaving the NYC program was large, even though it was smaller than that found among youth without NYC experience. Thirty to forty percent--depending on the sample--of the ex-enrollees were unemployed and many of them had not been employed since leaving the NYC. Apparently, substantial proportions of NYC enrollees leave the programs without having improved their employability enough to achieve post-NYC employment.

Program Implications

The above research findings have direct implications for the NYC program administrator. These implications are discussed in the following sections in relation to policies and procedures which the NYC administrator follows in conducting his program.

Ideal Program "Mix"

Our observations indicate that the needs of enrollees cover a wide range. It seems apparent that the most useful approach for helping the enrollee is to consider his particular needs and to adapt the program elements--work assignment, counseling and remedial education--to meet these needs. It is, of course, not

possible to tailor the NYC to fit each individual's needs. Broad strategies or "program mixes" can be developed, however, which permit a flexible response to enrollee employability needs and promise a higher degree of program effectiveness.

We have noted three general areas of deficiency--rebellious attitude toward authority, low self-esteem and lack of opportunity. Some deficiencies result from inadequacies in the opportunities for educational experiences available to the youth both in the formal school system and through family experience. These are examples of system failures harmful to the individual regardless of his attitude or motivation. Within this category are two subtypes, a disadvantaged graduate group and an adverse situation group. Many disadvantaged youths have graduated from the school system without having learned the basic language skills necessary to function in jobs. We call this the disadvantaged graduate group. Other well-socialized individuals drop out of school because of situational factors such as pregnancy or the need to support their families. We term this the adverse situation group. Such individuals have been caught in circumstances beyond their control and need the opportunity to fill the gaps in their formal education.

A second area of deficiency results from a poor attitude toward authority and work. Many disadvantaged youths have a suspicious attitude toward persons in authority and have not developed sufficient self-discipline to be able to meet the requirements of a job. We call this the rebel group. These youths feel that persons in authority are against them. They feel their needs cannot be met by complying with the requirements of authority. Until this is changed, they have great difficulty fitting into a working environment.

The third area of deficiency is related to the self-concept of individuals

coming from deprived environments--the low self-esteem group. Having had unfortunate experiences in the past, they tend to view the world as hostile and antagonistic, and to have doubts about their own capacity to obtain satisfactions from the world. Youth in this group, while frequently needing the most help, often may be the most difficult to assist. It appears the best strategy for improving self-esteem is to provide opportunities for experiencing success and to help the individual interpret these successes.

Possible differential strategies of program "mix" are discussed below:

a. Disadvantaged Graduate Group

It is a regrettable fact that there are many graduates from ghetto schools who have not learned the basic skills necessary to function adequately in jobs above the unskilled level. They frequently have a reasonably good academic record and are suffering from deficiencies in the educational system rather than from their own failure. Also, they may be weak in job-seeking skills or suffer from employment discrimination. Our research shows that Negro females comprise a great majority of this group. These enrollees are already sufficiently well motivated and disciplined to profit from formal education and skill training. The primary emphasis for this program "mix" should be on skill training and supplementary educational preparation rather than on specific work experience. These enrollees may also need vocational guidance and help in finding a job.

b. Adverse Situation Group

Youths in this category usually have a good attitude toward

authority and work but have dropped out of school because of some situational factor. Examples are youths who have dropped out of school to help support their families or girls who became pregnant and were unable to continue their education. Such individuals have been caught in circumstances beyond their control and need an opportunity for additional education or training. With this group, the primary emphasis in the program component "mix" should be on skill training to help the enrollee obtain a high school diploma or its equivalent rather than on specific work experience. Both the disadvantaged graduate and the adverse situation groups tend to have good attitudes toward training and work. The major difference between them is that the adverse situation group usually needs to stay in the program for a much longer period of time in order to remedy formal educational deficiencies.

c. Rebel Group

Youths in this group get along reasonably well with their peers and are able to perform well in many activities, despite their poor performance in school and their history of delinquency. The first task of the NYC program is that of social conditioning or convincing the youths that they can function in and obtain satisfactions from legitimate areas of society. For these youths, the prime motivator at the beginning of the program is probably the money. For the program to be effective, however, it is necessary that their values be shifted from those of the delinquent subculture to values more in

harmony with those of the prevailing culture.

Counselors or work supervisors can have a significant influence by serving as role models for such youths who also need to change their attitudes toward authority and the requirements of work. They need to develop the self-discipline necessary to function in the world of work. Supervisors should be encouraged to require such enrollees to meet the standards of achievement which are an essential ingredient of successful work performance. At this stage, counseling plays an important role.

The counselor should be aware of the relationship between the enrollee and his work supervisor, and should be available to both of them for advice and interpretation. At this level, guided group interaction as a counseling technique could prove very useful because youths are much more likely to listen to comments made by the peer group than by adults in positions of authority. Thus, the peer group may serve as a reference group to influence a change in norms and help the youth to understand reactions to his "delinquent" behavior.

At this stage, the program "mix" should be a combination of work experience and different forms of counseling with the work supervisor performing an important part of the counseling function. Remedial education is not likely to be very effective until favorable attitudes toward authority or favorable self-concepts are developed. It is likely that the school dropout already had developed a negative

attitude toward the school system and other socializing agents and will not be able to learn effectively until this attitude has been changed.

d. Low Self-Esteem Group

Youth in this group, while frequently needing the most help, are often the most difficult to assist. Many of them dropped out of school at an early grade, possess deficiencies in behavioral skills, and often have severe personality problems. The extremely withdrawn or aggressive youth may have such serious intra-personal conflicts that it is not possible to work with him in the conventional manner.

It appears the best strategy for improving self-esteem is to provide the opportunity for success experiences and to help the individual interpret these successes as worthwhile accomplishments. Earning money, completing a task, contributing to a common goal are all possible ways for an individual to experience success. During the period in which he is developing a sense of accomplishment and a belief that he can contribute to his own satisfaction by performing work, it is almost inevitable that some of the behaviors which have led to previous failures will lead to failure again. It is important, therefore, that he be able to fail without seriously adverse consequences. He needs to be able to start afresh in a new situation on at least several occasions so that he may have a chance to break the vicious cycle of repetitive failures resulting from his conviction that failure is inevitable.

The greatest need for the youth in the low self-esteem group is for sheltered work experience with sympathetic supervisors who do not make excessive demands on him. At this stage in his development, the youth may not be able to profit from intensive counseling. The role of the counselor, therefore, should be to place him in the kind of work situation which will help build his self-confidence (without putting excessive strain on him), and to help him interpret his progress and recognize his achievements. As the youth begins to develop self-confidence and his performance improves, additional demands can be made upon him and the program component "mix" should change accordingly.

Remedial Education

A high proportion of enrollees, including the high school graduates, were so deficient in reading and arithmetic skills as to severely limit their employability. Thus, work-training programs, although valuable for providing credentials and for training individuals in work habits and job skills, need to be supplemented by a remedial education program to reduce deficiencies in basic education so the enrollee is able to handle a responsible job. In terms of these educational needs of the enrollees, the NYC educational component was generally inadequate--particularly for male enrollees. An important goal for NYC administrators should be either to develop their own remedial education programs or to stimulate the local school system to expand its services and to experiment with innovative approaches which may improve the quality of remedial education programs for youths between 16 and 22 years of age.

All of the NYC programs we surveyed have had difficulty finding adequate facilities for educating out-of-school youths and for motivating the youths when facilites are available. The problem lies both in the attitude of enrollees toward the school and the attitude of the school toward enrollees. Many schools do not want these youths, have encouraged them to leave and make it difficult for them to return to school full-time. While the NYC program appears to stimulate participation in educational programs, particularly among males, the extent of this participation falls far below the needs of the enrollees.

In the absence of effective remedial education programs provided by local school systems, it becomes necessary to organize such programs through the NYC. Our experience suggests that an effecitve remedial education program should possess the following characteristics:

a. The teacher should be prepared to counsel the enrollee on his social, education and employment problems since the problems are interrelated.

b. Many enrollees, particularly males, have negative attitudes toward school and schooling. Part of this negativism is associated with the enrollee's low estimate of his own ability to do school work, and with low thresholds of frustration and boredom. Educational material should be neither so difficult as to frustrate nor so easy as to deny a sense of achievement, but should be just difficult enough to provide a challenge. Programmed learning plus diagnostic procedures for placing the student at his proper level appear to offer the best prospect for achieving the goal of avoiding frustration and

giving the student a sense of progress. This combination of techniques allows the studient to be placed at a level appropriate to his needs and permits him to work at his own pace.

c. Enrollees, although they may be approximately the same age, may be expected to have a wide range of academic deficiencies--from functional illiteracy to near readiness for high school graduation. The educational program must maximize flexibility by being able to include within the same class students working at several different levels of achievement.

d. The site of a remedial education program may be of crucial importance to its effectiveness. The negativism often attached to the standard school environment has been noted; but the rejection of schooling by dropouts also frequently means that the enrollee considers schooling to be irrelevant to his concerns. Since the level of motivation to participate in further education is often low, it becomes essential that the time and place for the classes be as convenient as possible. These psychological and physical considerations suggest that, to the extent practical, remedial education classes be located at or near NYC work-sites and the class schedule should be coordinated with NYC work hours.

e. A recent study[1] has shown that certified teachers are not essential to a learning situation involving programmed learning materials and the type of disadvantaged students found in the NYC. High school graduates can perform satisfactorily as teachers providing they have the

[1] Greenleigh Associates, Inc. Field and Test Evaluation of Selected Adult Basic Educational Systems. (New York: September, 1966).

necessary personal qualifications, and more extensive teaching qualifications--with attendant recruitment difficulties--is often not necessary.

The Social Research Group of The George Washington University is conducting an experiment in three cities following the above principles and using Job Corps educational materials and NYC counselors as teachers. The results of this experiment should develop valuable information regarding remedial education approaches and may provide a model which can be used generally for out-of-school enrollees.

Effective Use of Work Assignments

Our study suggests that at least three different aspects of work assignments can influence program effectiveness: type of work, type of supervision and location of work site.

The types of work should be tailored to the needs of enrollees, and to the variety of work experiences in which enrollees are interested. It already has been noted that one factor contributing to the less successful results with males as compared with females may be the character of work assignments most frequently reported by male enrollees--maintenance and unskilled labor. Such assignments can be expected to offer extremely limited opportunity for on-the-job training. The NYC program can be expected to have a more positive effect on both male and female enrollees if a greater variety of NYC jobs with more career potential could be developed. Our research also showed that a higher proportion of successful outcomes were achieved when the NYC assignment led directly into full-time employment. Work assignments should be planned as a unit to reflect an optimum number of work experiences which might prove useful to the enrollees.

For example, if it can be anticipated that 40 percent of the enrollees will be female and that 50 percent of the females could benefit most from clerical assignments, an effort should be made to have 20 percent of the work assignments in the clerical field.

Our research indicates that the work supervisor is important to achieving a successful outcome with the enrollee. In some respects he may be more important than the counselor because of his continuous contact with the enrollee. This suggests that the quality of supervision provided is an important factor to be considered when selecting work sites.

A work supervisor who shows an interest in the enrollee is likely to achieve the best results. This personal interest, however, must be combined with discipline and insistence on adequate performance. The best work assignment is one in which the work is well-organized and the fellow workers of the enrollee are conscientious and work efficiently. The worst work situation is one in which the supervision is lax and the fellow workers have poor work habits. For this reason, it has been observed in one of the programs studied that better results were obtained in private industry assignments than in assignments in welfare agencies which were not well-managed.

Finally, the location of the work assignment is important because it can either facilitate or interfere with the effective provision of related services. When planning work assignments, it is important to take the needs of counseling and remedial education into consideration. Both can be provided more effectively if work assignments are clustered together. In our investigation, we encountered several situations in which it was impossible to provide remedial

education to enrollees in conjunction with work assignments because of the wide dispersion of enrollees during the working day.

Optimum Length of NYC Enrollment

When "successful" enrollees (those who are able to adjust to a work situation and to the community) were compared with "unsuccessful" enrollees (those who had been unemployed most of the time since leaving NYC), it was found that on the average the "successful" enrollees spent more time in the NYC than did the "unsuccessful" enrollees. While there are indications some enrollees benefit from a short period of time in the NYC, most of the enrollees apparently needed a longer period of enrollment than had been anticipated at the beginning of the research. Those enrollees who did well after only a short NYC tour were relatively more employable before being enrolled and needed only limited assistance to become productive members of the labor force. These enrollees, however, were a minority of the "successful" group.

It was also found that many enrollees who did poorly while in the program and were terminated either at their own initiative or at the initiative of the NYC because of lack of interest, poor performance, poor attitude, or similar reasons, gave the program a very high rating after having been out for more than six months. Many of them had been unemployed continuously and perhaps were looking back with nostalgia on the time when they received a pay check. It is possible that some of them would perform better during a second enrollment. Support for this assumption is found in the fact that some enrollees made a successful adjustment to NYC after an many as three separate enrollments.

The above considerations suggest the need for a new concept of enrollment in the NYC. Perhaps, once having been enrolled, a youth should be considered

a responsibility of the NYC until it has been established that he can hold down a full-time job or until the program administrator determines that the NYC program can provide no further assistance to him. Such a policy should be combined with the requirement that an enrollee be permitted to continue in a work assignment only as long as he meets reasonable standards of performance for that job. When he fails to meet these standards, he should be placed on furlough until he decides he is ready to return and to comply with the standards. When he has made this decision, give him a new work assignment as soon as possible if he appears sincere in his decision to try to meet work standards.

The use of the concept of furlough rather than that of termination indicates that withdrawal from the program is not negative or to be stigmatized as failure. Rather, it has constructive implications for the enrollee and for the program. The furlough concept puts the responsibility on the enrollee to decide to adjust to the NYC program if he is to return. This gives him an alternative and allows him to learn to profit from a mistake instead of punishing him for it. Thus, a "failure" on one job becomes a part of the growth process through which behavior may be modified.

Although the consistent application of standards serves to discipline the enrollee, the door of the NYC would be kept open until it appears that the program cannot meet the youth's needs.

Our research indicates that seriously disadvantaged youths need multiple opportunities to start again with a clean slate, but that the youths have to be willing to make an effort to perform. Thus, the NYC cannot be merely a source of easy pocket money; instead, the NYC should be a place where assistance is offered

to youths regardless of past performance--a place where it is possible to work toward a change, toward improvement, toward future opportunity.

The youth should also be provided assistance when he first enters the employment market. There is widespread belief among NYC staff that many enrollees who obtained outside jobs are still somewhat deficient in their skills, attitudes and knowledge of the requirements of the working world. This belief is supported by the high rate of unemployment of ex-enrollees. It is possible that many of them lost jobs which they might have kept if they had received advice and support during crisis periods. Some counselors said that they kept in touch with the enrollees informally after they left the program, and that enrollees sometimes came back on their own for advice. Follow-up counseling is not provided systematically and it seems likely that the effectiveness of the NYC program would be increased by providing counseling assistance to ex-enrollees during the transition period while they are making their adjustment to the world of work in addition to permitting them to return to NYC without delay if it is evident that they need further work or skill training.

Job Development

Public employment agencies have developed programs, such as the YOC, designed specifically to help disadvantaged groups, but our research results indicate that for the most part they are not yet giving substantial assistance to the types of youths enrolled in the NYC program. For example, only about ten percent of the subjects in our sample said they first heard of their most recent job through these agencies.

There seems to be a conflict between the point of view of public and

private employment agencies and the NYC stemming from different criteria for judging program success. The number of successful placements has been the traditional standard by which an employment agency judges its performance. The employer becomes the most important client to be satisfied, and the best way to satisfy him is to send qualified candidates for all job openings. When poorly qualified candidates are sent, the employer may stop using the employment agency for recruitment. Under these circumstances, there may be a tendency for employment counselors to be reluctant to refer the typical out-of-school enrollee for a job since these youths are frequently employment risks.

For the NYC, the criteria of success should be the number of youths it can place successfully into jobs. Thus, the client becomes the youth himself. Risks have to be taken; the eventual adjustment of the youth to the world of work is more important than the job failures which may occur while the youth is learning to make this adjustment.

In the absence of effective job placement programs, the local NYC administrators may have no alternative but to undertake job development themselves. In our studies, a comparison of "successful" and "unsuccessful" enrollees indicated that NYC aid in job placement was significantly associated with post-NYC employment. This assistance was particularly important for young women. These results indicate that assistance to the disadvantaged requires that employment opportunities be made available to enrollees and that they know about and take advantage of these opportunities.

Coordination Among Manpower Programs

Very few of the enrollees exited from NYC into other work-training

programs or activities that would enhance their employability. Most of the youths who left the NYC programs went directly into the employment market, primarily through referrals by the NYC or by friends or relatives. Less than two percent of them joined the Job Corps or participated in institutional or on-the-job MDTA (Manpower Development Training Act) programs. It, thus, appears that coordination between the NYC and other pre-employment and training programs could and should be substantially improved.

In summary, the research results suggest that the NYC program provides the maximum assistance to enrollees when the following conditions are present:

1. Work assignments provide training opportunities and are selected to meet the anticipated needs of the enrollees.
2. Work supervisors both take an interest in the enrollees and insist that reasonable standards be met.
3. Work sites are sufficiently concentrated in one geographic area to permit adequate counseling and remedial education.
4. Counselors use intervention strategies based on the differential needs of the enrollees and are responsible for enrollees until they demonstrate the ability to hold a job or until nothing further can be done for them.
5. An effective remedial education program is available for all enrollees.
6. Periods of enrollment are used constructively. Enrollees are not permitted to continue working when they do not meet reasonable standards but are permitted to return to work when it

appears that they are serious about wanting to work. It should be expected that many enrollees will need several enrollment periods before they are ready to seek outside employment.

7. Enrollees are given assistance in finding jobs. Job opportunities should be expanded, enrollees directed to suitable job vacancies and taught how to apply for a job.

The recommendations contained in this paper are based on program achievements during the initial phase of the NYC program. Since the time reflected in these studies, many improvements in the programs have been made in each of the cities serving as research sites, and it is reasonable to assume that better results are now being obtained. The longitudinal studies currently under way will examine the effects of these changes and will investigate further the relationship between program policies and operations and program effectiveness.